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ABSTRACT

Two related papers are presented. "Towards Quality in Bilingual Education: Some Things We Must Do," addresses nine specific areas that have been the focus of recent discussion and suggests steps for action. Principles that are basic to establishing criteria for quality bilingual education are suggested. The nine areas are: education goals, public policy, corollary reforms, funding, staffing and governance, compliance with the rulings of the U.S. Supreme Court in the case of Lau v. Nichols, possible conflict with desegregation, and participation criteria. In "Bilingual Education in the Integrated School," the implications of bilingualism and desegregation for each other are addressed. An emerging confluence of the two has been brought about by legal and political developments, but its success will depend upon the degree to which their common pedagogical and social foundations can be demonstrated. The goals of bilingual education are discussed and related to the issues of participation, grouping, and staffing. Contains 18 references. (LB)

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Towards Quality in Bilingual Education

Bilingual Education in the Integrated School

Two papers by Josué M. González

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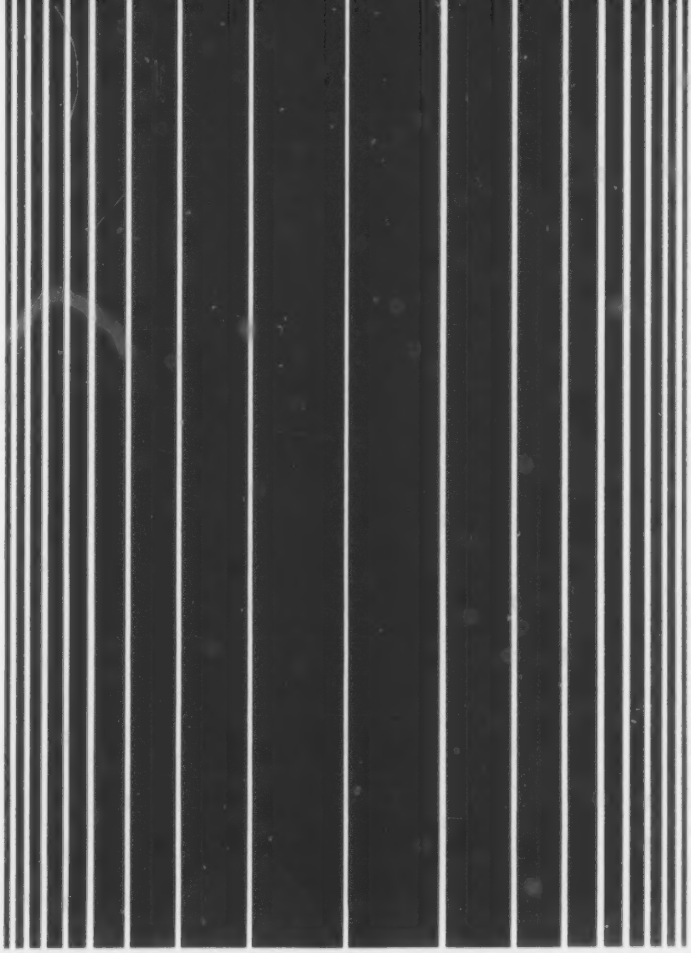

Towards Quality in Bilingual Education

Bilingual Education in the Integrated School

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Foreword

The National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education is pleased to present these two papers by Dr. Josué González, Director of the Office of Bilingual Education, United States Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Written while Dr. González was on the faculty of Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas, the two papers present ideas about the current status of bilingual education in this country.

"Towards Quality in Bilingual Education" (1977) addresses nine specific areas, including public policy, funding, and evaluation, which have been the focus of recent discussion. Dr. González provides a practical assessment of current issues and suggests steps for action. In "Bilingual Education in the Integrated School" (1978), Dr. González discusses "two of the most important educational developments of the past decade"—bilingual education and integration—and their implications for each other. This paper is one of a series dealing with desegregation and bilingual education developed under the sponsorship of the National Institute of Education.

Dr. Josué González has been Coordinator of Bilingual Chicano Studies and Associate Professor at Southern Methodist University. He has held other significant positions including Director of the Institute for Bicultural Education at Chicago State University; Executive Director of the Curriculum Adaptation Network for Bilingual Bicultural Education (CANBBE), funded by the William Randolph Hearst Foundation and the Office of Education; Director of Bilingual Education at the William Randolph Hearst Foundation; Director for Special Studies for the Select Committee of Equal Educational Opportunity of the U.S. Senate; Administrator of Resource Fellow with the Rockefeller Foundation; and Director of the Bilingual Program Development Center for the San Antonio Schools.

One of the activities of the National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education is to publish documents addressing the specific information needs of the bilingual education community. We are proud to add these two papers to our growing list of publications. Subsequent Clearinghouse products will similarly seek to contribute information and knowledge which can assist in the education of minority culture and language groups in the United States.

National Clearinghouse
for Bilingual Education

Towards Quality in Bilingual Education: Some Things We Must Do

Viewed in its totality, bilingual education is a national phenomenon which has numerous ramifications throughout the entire gamut of schooling, kindergarten through graduate school. Unlike many other school programs, it raises questions of social policy which invite—indeed require—the attention of people in and outside the field of education. In an unprecedented way, bilingual education involves lawyers, judges, legislators, executive branch agencies, and a wide variety of politicians and bureaucrats. In short, bilingual education mobilizes, for better or for worse, a significant cross section of U.S. society.

The criticisms and opposition to the concept of bilingual education which, to date, had simmered quietly have recently been intensified and brought into the open. The motivations of the critics are no doubt varied and multiple. Although the criticisms are not a subject of this paper, it should be noted that whether they be invidious or benign, they reflect two important and continuing problems: first, the lack of consensus about the philosophy, goals, and expectations for programs of bilingual bicultural education and, second, the shallow nature of the "root system" which supports the concept politically, in our educational institutions and in terms of public support.

In looking at the present state of the art in bilingual education, it is also necessary to look with care and candor at the state of the context. In most societies, schools and school programs are created, in the main, to stabilize and propagate practices, ideas, and concepts which are valued by the majority of the people in that society. The U.S. is no exception. For purposes of this paper, we will assume that linguistic and cultural diversity are not widely valued in the U.S. This conclusion is inescapable; there is no evidence to the contrary.

To the degree that bilingual education raises dark xenophobic fears (Babelophobia?) in some sectors of society, it is placed in a

position akin to that of sex education, busing, Darwinian evolutionary theory, and other concepts which historically have not been enthusiastically embraced by the society or by its schools. For this reason, it often becomes necessary to promote bilingual education against the current of popular opinion and "folk wisdom." This has tended to exacerbate the problem of acceptance by creating a climate of perceived coercion. Some educators and laypersons argue that our continued reliance on the law and the political arena has reached a degree which insults the principles of local school control and rule of the majority. Outside of mandated desegregation, no other school program could rankle more.

The bulk of recent criticisms of bilingual education appear to focus on one or more aspects of the following:

A. Education goals
B. Public policy
C. Evaluation
D. Corollary reforms
E. Funding
F. Staffing and governance
G. *Lau* v. *Nichols:* Compliance
H. Possible conflict with desegregation
I. Participation

The remainder of this paper will attempt to suggest, in each of these areas, certain principles which are basic to establishing criteria for quality bilingual education. Ultimately, it is hoped that a well-articulated position statement will emerge and that it can serve to minimize the ill-founded opposition which is currently surfacing.

A. Education goals

In the preamble to the Bilingual Education Act of 1974 (20 USC 880b) the Congress recognized, among other things

> that a primary means by which a child learns is through the use of such child's language and cultural heritage; and that in addition, children of limited English-speaking ability benefit through the fullest utilization of multiple language and cultural resources.

Later in the act, there is language which recognizes the importance of participation in bilingual education by children whose

language is English "in order that they may acquire an understanding of the cultural heritage of the children . . . for whom the program is designed."

Embedded within these statements are some important ideals of bilingual education which can be restated as core goals for high-quality programs:

1. To assist children with limited-English language skills to understand instruction and participate more effectively in school activities through the use of the home language at the same time that English language skills are being developed
2. To assist children with limited English-language skills to develop psychologically and socially in a climate which systematically reinforces their feelings of self-worth and the worth of their ethnolinguistic heritage
3. To assist children with limited English-language skills to maintain the momentum thus gained, by the continued and full utilization of their home language, English, and the cultural resources which they bring from the home
4. To assist children who are native speakers of English to develop greater linguistic, social, and interpersonal skills

The above restatement of some of the optimum goals of bilingual education is at variance with common practice in at least three important ways:

1. It does not imply a planned termination of the use of the home language in the instructional program. Rather, it leaves open the possibility of a continued ("fullest") development and use of the home language alongside the development of English skills.
2. It does not imply that those negative forces which inhibit learning—learning disabilities, dietary deficiencies, poor social adjustment, exposure to out-of-school prejudice, poverty, etc.—will be corrected through mere presence in a bilingual education program. Accordingly, it cannot be assumed that in a given period of time, children will achieve "at grade level" or cease to drop out of school. Because of its limited foci, bilingual education may only be expected to assist in coping rather than resolving all dysfunctions or removing all barriers to school success.
3. This understanding also goes beyond common practices in that it views as imperative the participation of children who are native speakers of English. This is necessary because (a) it demonstrates to the language-minority child that his/her language is valued by those who were not born with it and (b)

> bilingual societal situations are becoming increasingly numerous and *all* students should be prepared by the schools to function in them. (González, 1978)

B. Public policy

The public policy formulations—administrative, judicial, and legislative—have tended to support only those programs of bilingual education which are transitional/compensatory/remedial/assimilationist in nature. Indeed, these were the pedagogical bases which most advocates used in the late sixties and early seventies to promote the passage of bilingual education legislation. Nonetheless, while it is not difficult to understand the persistence of these ideological principles in public policy, it is necessary to recognize that they severely inhibit much needed experimentation and planned variations in programs. To a degree, the same legislation (Title VII, ESEA) which created bilingual education is now handicapping its continued growth and maturation by assigning it a most restrictive goal: to move children into English-only instruction.

In a very real sense, restricting bilingual education to transitional remedial ends is an unwarranted governmental intrusion into educational practices.

One author on the subject of the teaching of reading has suggested somewhat facetiously in a book title that there are "100 Ways to Teach Reading." Similar statements could no doubt be made about the teaching of science, social studies, or math. Significantly, and understandably, neither state legislatures, nor Congress have ever taken a legislative position on which method of teaching reading or math is to be supported by the state to the exclusion of all others. Neither have these bodies demanded of practitioners that they prove conclusively that a method which the practitioners themselves do not favor is the one which should be used exclusively. Only in the case of bilingual education does this unseemly situation exist.

Most bilingual educators favor an approach to the provision of equal educational opportunity which involves the concurrent development of *both* the home language of the child and English. There are sound rationales for doing this from several perspectives: educational, societal, psychological, enrichment, self-worth, etc. It is difficult to understand, therefore, why the most regressive of several possible ideologies should serve as the only officially sanctioned basis for bilingual education today.

A concerted and intensive effort must be made to stem the unprogressive practice of promoting only one type of bilingual

education. By its nature, transitional bilingual education is insulting, demanding, and hypocritical when it is seen as a statement of language policy. It is justifiable only as one of several programmatic options from which students and parents might choose.

There is no contradiction in having lobbied for the passage of Title VII, ESEA, using one highly focused rationale and, subsequently, expanding it. Such augmentation of the ideological foundations for bilingual education simply acknowledges an increased body of accumulated information about the elements we now know it contains or should contain. It would be embarrassing indeed if we had learned nothing from ten years of experience. No apologies are needed for seeking to broaden the conceptual bases for bilingual education. If there are 100 ways to teach reading in *one* language, it is not unreasonable to expect that a wide variety of approaches are possible when it is to be done in *two* languages.

C. Evaluation

Some programs of transitional bilingual education have not yielded the expected results in the academic growth of participating students. One or more logical conclusions can be drawn from this fact:

a. Either, the evaluation models being used are inappropriate or biased, *or*
b. The concept of transitional bilingual education is dysfunctional in itself, *or*
c. The programs which have been evaluated have been poorly implemented or supported, *or*
d. The attitudinal climate in the schools (and perhaps in society) is unduly negative and inhibits the full potential of programs from becoming a reality, *or*
e. A combination of the above statements is applicable.

One important point to avoid at this juncture is a generic condemnation of bilingual education as an educational concept. It is entirely too early in the modern history of bilingual education in the U.S. to reach such a radical conclusion. In a short decade of only limited experimentation, bilingual schooling has not been subjected to a full and fair test. Besides, there are millions of people in the world who have been educated bilingually—or trilingually—and who are the better off for it. Accordingly, our posture should be:

1. A wider range of program models should be developed and tested. The initial research question should not be, "Does

bilingual education work?" but rather, "What type of bilingual schooling works best, with what populations, and under which circumstances?"

2. Evaluation of research procedures in the "soft sciences" are notoriously manipulable. Inescapably, the identification of variables—dependent, independent, or intervening—is a task which is influenced by the views, opinions, and theories of the researcher. Accordingly, research and instruction models which are used in bilingual education must be carefully scrutinized to minimize the effects of research bias. For the same reason, no *one* model or theory of evaluation should be used exclusively.
3. Evaluation and research, in addition to being sound and diversified, should place emphasis on gauging the social and the institutional context of the program being studied. Studies which do not examine the contextual climate should be regarded as incomplete and inconclusive.
4. One recent large-scale study of bilingual education (AIR, 1977 and 1978) has received wide dissemination in the media. Several analyses of the study itself (e.g., IDRA, 1977) demonstrate quite clearly that the study was poorly designed and executed. Nevertheless, its negative findings have found their way, unchallenged, into the highest levels of policymaking. We should insist that government supported studies of this type be submitted to greater scrutiny and analysis *before* they are carried out. It is too late once the findings are published to counteract or critique them since federal financial support is not available for this purpose.

D. Corollary reforms

Bilingual education is advanced as an important aspect of a broad-based effort at providing equality of educational opportunity for children who do not have English as their primary home language. It *should not*, however, be seen as the only major change which a school district must make. Many other changes are often necessary in order to bring about greater opportunity and to correct the effects of past discriminatory practices and omissions.

Among the areas which require great attention are the following:

1. Administrative practices and procedures which may be linguistically or culturally dysfunctional or outdated
2. Curriculum techniques and materials which may not be suited to a particular population but are used uniformly with all students

3. Poor home/school/community relations which inhibit fruitful interactions
4. Inadequate training and staff development experiences for leadership staff in the schools
5. Poorly conceived or implemented patterns of student and faculty assignment to schools, programs, or classrooms
6. Inadequate training and preparation of teachers and other personnel to carry out new, increased, or differentiated responsibilities within new or nontraditional programs of the schools

E. Funding

Fiscal problems in bilingual education revolve around three basic issues:

1. *Local responsibility*—the degree to which local education agencies (LEAs) should shoulder programmatic costs
2. *Added costs*—the degree to which bilingual education may increase program expenses *above* the normal per pupil expenditures in a district and the source of such funds
3. *Use of federal funds*—operations, program development, staff salaries, etc.

At the inception of Title VII, ESEA, the federal government envisioned that Title VII funds would be used primarily to defray "start-up" or capacitation expenses in LEAs. At the end of a five-year period, it was foreseen that districts would have developed their programs and capabilities in bilingual education to a degree which would enable them to integrate their components into the "regular" offerings. Corollary assumptions were (1) that the cost of such programs would decrease after the initial costs of development were met and (2) that continued federal support for such programs would not be necessary or appropriate after the developmental phase was completed.

At the insistence of school administrators, the five-year limitation of Title VII has been abandoned by the federal government. The result has been that Title VII funds have begun to be used to *supplant* rather than *supplement* LEA and state funds. One serious effect of this is that bilingual education continues to rely heavily on "soft money" for its continued existence and, consequently, has made only limited progress in becoming institutionalized as an ongoing activity in many schools.

This general practice should be expeditiously halted if a true integration of bilingual education into the schools' programs is to

occur. To this end a funding policy should be adopted which establishes the following principles:

1. LEAs should receive special "grant" funding only for start-up costs and, after that, only for special purposes. Funds should not be used for normal operating expenses of a bilingual education program. "Special costs" would be those which are created by bilingual education and which do not occur in monolingual instruction.
2. Start-up or program development costs should be subsidized for a period not to exceed five years. This would include the salaries for the staffs hired to develop the program. After a period of five years, LEAs should absorb these staffs and assume their salaries as a normal expenditure from their own local or state sources.

Care should be taken to avoid the practice of "proxy funding" (Cárdenas, 1976), through which districts utilize bilingual education funds as "general aid grants." This practice is explained by Cárdenas as follows:

> . . . programs such as bilingual education or compensatory education are often found in districts of below-average wealth with students from groups which are, or have been, the subject of discriminatory practices. Thus, there can be a tendency to inflate the funding of these programs as a proxy either for the taxable wealth which the districts do not have, or for the quality of education in the regular program offered to students in question.

In addition to the "proxy" problem, schools should be encouraged to minimize or eliminate the practice of using bilingual education funds for general upgrading of education. As defined by Cárdenas (1976), this involves two cognate aspects:

1. Where the level of sources which can be funded through the basic state/local school finance programs is low, the addition of a new program can be seen as an opportunity to acquire resources of use to several programs.
2. There may also be a tendency for optimal funding of a new program with a full complement of the modern technology either simply in the belief that new programs should be equipped with the latest available materials, or with the idea that, by demonstration effect, the quality of education, as a whole can be upgraded.

Another undesirable practice is the continued budgeting of bilingual education teachers' salaries from soft-money budgets. This is a poor practice because (a) it places such teachers in a tenuous, "step-children" budgetary position and (b) it inflates mendaciously the expenditures which a district is making in bilingual education. Bilingual education teachers should normally be budgeted locally in the same manner as other teachers.

In summary, bilingual education should, in the main, be seen as the responsibility of LEAs. In effect, it should be perceived and funded as a "regular program" of the schools. Only under unusual circumstances or for special purposes should federal funds be sought.

F. Staffing and governance

Under ideal circumstances, every child who participates in bilingual education should receive instruction, for a substantial portion of the school day, from teachers who can provide instruction in the home language of that child. Additionally, such children should have access, in each category of support personnel, to persons who also speak their language. Among such bilingual staff, the most important are counselors, nurses, social workers, school psychologists, and home-school liaison personnel.

A reasonable goal for LEAs is to have a ratio of bilingual staff to bilingual students which is similar to the overall teacher-pupil ratio in the district as a whole. As an example, if the overall teacher-pupil ratio is 1 to 25, the ratio of Spanish-speaking teachers to Spanish-speaking children should also be at least 1 to 25.

Ideally, such staff should be ongoing and consistently available. "Floating" teachers or situations relying on "pullout" arrangements should be kept at a minimum because they deprive the students of continuity and consistency in the instructional program. In addition, there is no good reason why bilingual education staffs should not enjoy the same tenure rights, promotion privileges, and other benefits as do monolingual personnel.

Administrative (governance) arrangements should be such that

1. Clear lines of authority and responsibility exist vis-à-vis the bilingual efforts.
2. Bilingual program administrators are properly trained and assigned.
3. Accountability for the success or failure of the program is clearly defined.

G. *Lau* v. *Nichols:* Compliance

As of this writing, the Office of Civil Rights of HEW has not officially promulgated a program of compliance with the *Lau* decision. Such standards would involve (a) a specified statement of what would constitute a violation of *Lau* and (b) guidelines or regulations for correcting those practices which are found to be discriminatory.

Such procedures, in order to be of the greatest utility, should be founded on the statement of the High Court which postulates that the act of providing the "same curriculum, teachers, and facilities" to such children as to others—those who understand, speak, and read English well—constitutes a denial of equality of educational opportunities.

Full compliance with the spirit of *Lau* should include adherence to the following principles:

1. Education programs for language-minority children should have, as a prime goal, the attainment of parallel academic success between children of non-English language backgrounds and those whose native language is English.
2. Schools must determine which students are being excluded from effective participation in the schools' present programs because of language incompatibilities. In conducting their analyses, school districts should examine and maintain adequate records of the methods and procedures used.
3. It should be the responsibility of the schools to ensure that no child receives instruction, counseling, assignments, or punishment in any language which he/she does not unequivocably understand and speak well enough to interact substantively with the schools' staffs.
4. A student who demonstrates, through language performance or poor scholastic achievement, that she/he has substantial difficulties with the English language, should not be assigned to classrooms where the regularly assigned teachers do not have adequate knowledge of the home language of that child.
5. Supplementary programs of English language instruction conducted during a fraction of, or after, the regular school day should be considered insufficient since such programs are, in effect, efforts to compensate for inadequate instruction provided during the rest of the school day.
6. Instructional programs which rely heavily on paraprofessionals, fellow students, or school aides should not be considered acceptable except during the beginning phases of a district's development of a more comprehensive program. A comprehensive program should be one in which teachers,

curriculum, tests, and other factors are clearly compatible with the language and cultural characteristics of students.

7. Language proficiency, both verbal and written, of a student should be determined in all languages used by the child or by his/her parents or guardians. Subsequently, a program of instruction should be followed which builds upon the language competencies. The child's program of academic studies should not be decelerated while he/she is taught sufficient English to participate effectively in an English-only classroom. While the English language must be taught effectively and efficiently, this should not be done in such a way as to retard the acquisition of other subject matter which the child is receptive to learning in his/her own home language.

H. Possible conflict with desegregation

In some sectors of the profession, there is a fear that bilingual education and its "grouping" requirements may be in conflict with the processes of desegregation. This need not be the case. In most instances bilingual schooling should occur within desegregated classrooms wherever it is feasible. Our initial assumption should therefore be that *all* students can benefit from bilingual instruction.

For this to occur, it is necessary to deviate from the limited-clientele concept in bilingual education and its narrow conceptualization of goals. An expanded rationale and goals for such a scenario must be developed. They would be founded on several key generalizations:

1. Integrated education is not only the "law of the land," it is also highly desirable from a cultural and sociological perspective.
2. There is a sound pedagogical justification for having students share—in order to respect and appreciate—their particular cultural and linguistic heritages.
   a. For language-minority children there is the opportunity to see their culture being valued by others.
   b. For children of different ethnic backgrounds, it presents an opportunity for acquiring increased communicative and interpersonal skills.
   c. For all groups there is the opportunity to work out the problems (and experience the pleasures) of a multicultural society through a microcosmic immersion in situations which reflect an expanding reality of contemporary U.S. society.
3. The processes of desegregation and integration, if they are to be perceived as fair by all groups, must embody the concept of

everyone having to adjust to everyone else in some manner and degree. Bilingual instruction is a proper case in point.

4. Demographic changes in contemporary society indicate that, increasingly, many areas of the country will become more bilingual, notably in Spanish and English. Recent research shows that Spanish speakers continue to retain their language in a manner which is unprecedented in U.S. history. This coupled with the rapid growth of Spanish-speaking populations will result in a continued (and perhaps escalated) push for a "legitimization" of the Spanish language by societal institutions. Children should be helped to understand these dynamics and given the skills to cope with them.

In all instances it should be emphasized that there is no inherent contradiction between the concepts of bilingual education on the one hand and desegregation/integration on the other. In those cases where bilingual education is provided only to language-minority children, it may be necessary to group children according to their English-language skills in order to optimize instructional resources. In those situations care should be taken that such grouping does not lead to the separation of minority children from nonminority children for more than 20-25 percent of the school day. Bona fide ability grouping as a pedagogical practice should be constrained by requirements similar to those applied to ESAA programs: to wit, grouping should be

1. Based upon nondiscriminatory, objective standards of measurement which are educationally relevant to the purposes of such grouping
2. Determined by the nondiscriminatory application of the standards described in subparagraph (1) above and maintained for only such portion of the school day classroom periods as is necessary to achieve the purposes of such grouping
3. Designed to meet the special needs of the students in each group determined by the application of the standards described in subparagraph (1) above and to improve the academic performance and achievement of students determined to be in the less academically advanced groups, by means of specially trained or certified instructional personnel and by periodic retesting to determine academic progress and eligibility for promotion; and
4. Validated by test scores or other reliable objective evidence indicating the educational benefits of such grouping.*

*Adapted from Public Law 92-818, section 706 (d) (1) (c); Senate Report No. 92-61, p. 19.

I. Participation

The usefulness and full potential of bilingual education programs are severely restricted when participation is limited to those students who exhibit minimal skills in the English language. There are no data presently available regarding English language skills which are normative at particular ages and/or grade levels. This absence of data for normative proficiency makes it impossible to ascertain with confidence what constitutes a relative deficiency. This could only occur if the language skills of native English speakers could be ascertained and normed.

Other complications which exist currently in the area are the following:

a. There is no general agreement among educators and/or linguists as to what constitutes either the particular functionalities of language which impinge significantly on school learning, the structures which situationally may affect it, or the specific skills which should be the minima at a given age or grade.
b. Most formal measures of English language proficiency currently available suffer from serious problems of validity and reliability. (Silverman et al., 1976)
c. The school setting requires that measures be taken quickly, easily, inexpensively, and with minimal disruption of staff and student life. Most good measures of language competence which are currently available do not meet these requirements.

While this situation is unfortunate it does not present an insurmountable problem. Students can be validly identified as priority participants using a simple method which is consistent with the spirit of laws and adjudications in this area.

Students may be identified as being in need of bilingual education if

1. They have a primary or home language which is other than English; *and*
2. They are underachieving for their grade level; *or*
3. They are at a grade level which is lower than is generally appropriate for their age, regardless of achievement indicators; *or*
4. They do not readily demonstrate a mastery of reading and other English language skills which have been established by the LEA as objectives for all students in the same age group. Student performance may be judged by teachers through systematic classroom observation.

This process identifies those students who to some degree, are not receiving an equal educational opportunity because of language incompatibility. As we have suggested before, however, bilingual education should not be limited only to this group. All other students, regardless of language background, English proficiency, or achievement level, should be encouraged to participate.

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Bilingual Education in the Integrated School: Some Social and Pedagogical Factors

Bilingual education and desegregation are two of the most important educational developments of the past decade. Their concurrent evolution, however, has been along parallel rather than convergent directions. Often, where they coexist in a particular school or district, school personnel have tended to regard them as separate and distinct thrusts, each having its own, widely different school populations and purposes. Bilingual education is commonly seen as a special-interest program for language minority students. Integration and desegregation have been too often regarded as matters relating to groups and communities of Blacks and Whites.

Government directives, court orders, and community pressures have begun to end that separation. In the future, these educational movements will find it necessary to move closer together. As a partial result of desegregation, bilingual education will tend to occur within the context of integrated education.

This emerging confluence of bilingual education and integration has been brought about by legalistic and political developments. Its success, however, will depend on the degree to which the two can be demonstrated to share common pedagogical and social foundations. This can occur only if the two thrusts can adapt themselves to each other in ways which they have, heretofore, not been required to do.

Some educators who are involved in one or the other of these two movements—comparatively few are involved in both—have expressed concern that the confluence of bilingual instruction and integrated education is a "forced marriage." A recent conference (NIE, 1977) revealed a lack of clear consensus among participants as to the methods which are most likely to bring about a smooth melding of the two innovations.

The issues of bilingual education within the context of desegregation appear at first glance to be numerous and complex. This apparent complexity is due, in part, to the difficulty of sifting out the *educational* issues from those which may be more accurately labeled as *political*, *legal*, or *societal*. For purposes of this discussion

we shall attempt to address narrow educational and social concerns and leave to others the examination of legal and political issues.

In their simplest form, the impinging educational issues are reducible to the following key questions and concerns:

> *Grouping:* Bilingual education often involves the use of grouping practices which separate students on the basis of English-language ability. It is not clear whether such practices are educationally justifiable in every instance or whether there are alternatives to these practices.
>
> *Participation:* Should participation in bilingual education be limited to those students who come from other-than-English language backgrounds or who are deficient in the use of the English language?
>
> *Purpose:* Should bilingual education have an invariantly uniform goal in all school/community situations?
>
> *Staffing:* The long-range implications for staffing and teacher competencies appear to be awesome. Most present-day teachers, teacher trainers, and other necessary staff have generally not been trained for this type of work.

This paper will attempt to suggest a conceptual framework for addressing these concerns. The ideas are based on generally accepted principles of education. It is hoped that they may suggest a frame of common understandings which school planners and administrators may use in the conceptualization and design of bilingual education programs in integrated settings.

In attempting to position these issues in a resolvable mode, we shall accept as given certain well-established principles of contemporary U.S. education:

1. That *desegregation* is a national policy imperative; as such, it may be expected to require alterations of various types and degrees to certain instructional programs and related school practices.
2. That an *integrated* (and not merely *desegregated*) education is an important goal in the thrust for equal educational opportunity and is, therefore, to be preferred to simplistic racial/ethnic mixes. The process of "integrating" curricula and the products of this process are congruent with evolving views regarding cultural and linguistic democracy.
3. That educational benefits—cognitive and affective—should be generally available to those who want or need them.

4. That in either case, desegregation or integration, the benefits to students should demonstrably outweigh the inconveniences which occur. Similarly, we believe that all of the participants in an integration effort share an implicit responsibility to adjust and adapt themselves to their neighbors and colleagues in the venture. In the same way that all should share the benefits, all may be expected to shoulder some of the modifications which full integration entails.

Goal(s) of Bilingual Education

Current practice defines bilingual education narrowly. Applicable legislation, court decisions, and public sentiment have led to the use of bilingual education as a method for replacing, among non-English speaking children, one language with another.[1] This "transitional" intent has had several negative effects.

1. It has reduced the supporting constituencies of bilingual education solely to language-minority groups and thus deprived it of larger, more influential groups of supporters and advocates.
2. Its remedial/compensatory emphasis has tended to classify it as a program for children who are underachieving and, consequently, not a desirable enrichment opportunity for children who are native speakers of English.
3. The duration of bilingual instruction is, in most instances, limited to the early grades. In addition, it is usually dependent on special grant funding rather than a continuing budgetary commitment of local or state agencies. A limited integration as an ongoing institutional effort has been the result.
4. It has given some language-minority communities a questionable sense of "exclusive ownership" of the program. At times, this results in a lack of interest by these groups to have other children become involved in the program for fear of diluting its potential impact.
5. Because the first federal bilingual education law (Title VII, ESEA of 1968) had a poverty provision, bilingual education is often identified as an educational program which is only for the economically disadvantaged.
6. The transitional limitation of current programs inhibits bilingual education programs from promoting the broader ends of cultural and linguistic pluralism in a more sustained and consistent way.

All of these historical factors have cast a shadow over the potential contributions which bilingual education can make in a

unitary system of integrated education. But this unfortunate historical backdrop need not be allowed to limit the value of this concept. Bilingual education is quite simply *the use of two languages for instruction and the inclusion of the cultures which those languages represent in the schools' programs.* From this statement it is possible to infer a number of cognitive and affective benefits which can accrue not only to those who belong to language-minority groups, but to all students.

The case of the Spanish language is illustrative. Recent demographic trends in the U.S. indicate that some areas of the country are increasing in the number of Spanish speakers which inhabit them. Other research (Estrada, 1976) shows that Spanish speakers continue to retain their language to a degree which is unprecedented in U.S. history. This retention, coupled with the rapid growth of Spanish-speaking populations, is likely to result in a continued (and perhaps escalated) push for a "legitimization" of the Spanish language in societal institutions. Few parents or educators would question that all children should be helped to understand these changes and be given the skills to cope with them.

Bilingual education would appear to offer much to many, but only if we deviate from the limited-clientele syndrome which has characterized it to date. A broader conceptualization of its goals is not only possible but necessary. There is a sound pedagogical and sociological justification for having students share—in order to respect and appreciate—their particular cultural and linguistic heritages.

For the child who speaks a native language other than English, there is the opportunity to see his/her culture and language being valued by others. This results in an enhanced self-concept and a greater willingness to interact with English-speaking peers. For children of all ethnic groups, it presents an opportunity for acquiring increased communicative and interpersonal skills. Vocational and professional competencies can also be increased. For all groups which may be involved, there is the opportunity to work out the problems (and experience the pleasures) of a multicultural society. Bilingual education offers this opportunity through a microcosmic immersion in situations which reflect an expanding reality of contemporary United States society.

Not all school communities will want or need to emphasize all of these goals in their own programs of bilingual education or to do so to the same degree. Particular school populations, community climates, and available personnel resources are among the factors which may influence the type of bilingual education which may be selected in a given school or district. An inner city magnet school, for example, may wish to offer bilingual instruction in social service

vocations. Another integrated school may emphasize international relations or programs in bilingual literary studies. In either case the long-range interests of all students would be well served. Indeed, any instructional subject—like any aspect of life—which utilizes language can be carried out, in whole or in part, in *two* languages. This expanded concept of bilingual education will not, in and of itself, detract from any preexisting remedial or compensatory aims of the program. Both may occur concurrently.

The listing below illustrates how bilingual bicultural education can promote a number of curricular goals other than those which are oriented towards linguistic remediation and compensatory education.[2]

1. To enhance *communicative and interpersonal skills* in multicultural societal milieux
2. To enrich the students' *humanistic and aesthetic backgrounds* (liberal education)
3. To help *maintain and develop existing language resources* other than English
4. To *promote the concept of cultural and linguistic diversity* (cultural democracy) for its own intrinsic value
5. To help *prepare students to function professionally or vocationally in bilingual or non-English environments* both domestically and internationally
6. To help *foster harmonious intergroup relations* in communities (states or regions) which are linguistically diverse

It should be noted that while these goals were not generated specifically for purposes of desegregation/integration, their applicability is undeniable.

Participation

When the goals of bilingual education are conceptualized along these broader dimensions, their potential contributions to integrated curricula become apparent. The context of desegregation/integration creates fruitful and varied opportunities for enriching the education of groups of students which are linguistically distinct.

Although bilingual education has obvious similarities to the traditional study of foreign languages, it has two clear advantages. First, it can be bound to subject matter instruction in a wide variety of paradigms. Geography, history, literature, language arts, and others serve as the "subjects" for language development. In this way bilingual instruction offers many possibilities for curriculum organization which can make it available to a great number of

students. Second, bilingual education is immediately relevant and contextually alive in that it is based on the languages and cultures of groups which coexist in a given community with native speakers of English. This factor is important in creating and maintaining student interest.

Bilingual education when used broadly also has a decided value in demonstrating to language minority students (and communities), that their languages and cultures are valued and esteemed to a high degree by the school community. The curricular restructuring which accompanies integration presents an excellent opportunity for improving receptivity to and support of the desegregation program among various community groups.

A well-known jurist has recognized the opportunities and the appropriateness of this type of accommodation. Writing in a desegregation/consolidation case, Judge William W. Justice affirmed:

> . . . Little could be more clear to the court than the need . . . for special educational consideration to be given to the Mexican American students in assisting them in adjusting to those parts of their new school environment which present a cultural and linguistic shock. Equally clear, however, is the need to avoid the creation of a stigma of inferiority akin to the "badges and indicia of slavery" spoken of [in another decision]. To avoid this result the Anglo American students too must be called upon to adjust to their Mexican American classmates, and to learn to understand and appreciate their different linguistic and cultural attributes. The process by which all students participate in a joint learning and adjustment process will not only constitute an educational enrichment but, also, will bring the school system as a whole closer to the goal or state-of-being referred by the Supreme Court as a "unitary system." (Memorandum Opinion . . ., 1971)

The pedagogical and social underpinnings are clear: if children are to coexist amicably and productively in society, and if they are to learn to accept and respect groups other than their own in the world outside of school, they could do no better than to begin by doing so in the classroom.

The cultural and linguistic reciprocity which is involved in this type of bilingual education constitutes an educational advantage of significant proportions. Certain federal policies may be interpreted to support this type of programmatic inclusion of native English speakers within federally funded programs of bilingual education. In its regulations pertaining to the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (45CFR, Section 80.3), HEW has specified that school districts which receive

federal funds may not "restrict an individual in any way in the enjoyment of any advantage enjoyed by others receiving any service, financial aid, or other benefit under the program."

At the time of this writing, this regulation has not been invoked as a rationale for the inclusion of Black or White children in programs of bilingual education. Nonetheless, while mandatory participation of such children does not yet exist, it seems clear that those districts which include these children in their programs are well within the spirit, if not the letter, of public policy.[3]

The case for inclusion of native English speakers in programs of bilingual education is pedagogically and socially sound. When such involvement is noncompulsory, there would appear to be no valid basis for denying participation to English-speaking students and parents who wish it.[4]

Grouping

In bilingual classes which are racially and ethnically mixed, the issues and patterns of instructional grouping are not significantly different from those of monolingual classes.[5] A comparable heterogeneity of English and the other language(s) represented in the attendance area are likely to be present in many classrooms of a desegregated district. Those children whose non-English language is being used may have an advantage over their other classmates during those portions of the school day when that language is used. The opposite may be true during the time that English is being used, thus cancelling out any undue advantage. In either case, it is possible in many situations to convert the mix of language abilities into an instructional advantage through the use of diversified strategies in classroom organization. Among the possibilities which come immediately to mind are

- team teaching
- differentiated staffing
- peer tutoring
- modular scheduling
- ungraded assignment
- self-paced instruction
- interface with extramural program and personnel resources

Schools which have utilized such curriculum innovations have found that unexpected benefits often accrue from the increased interaction which is required among members of the school community. One school superintendent (Cárdenas, 1975) gives the following examples:

High school students in psychology, child care, and home-making classes participated in Youth-Tutoring-Youth (YTY) programs in the district. Junior high school students were also utilized. The benefits derived by the children being taught were exceeded only by the benefits derived by the secondary school students participating in the program. The Youth Tutors made substantial gains in the subject matter areas in which they taught. Truancy and disciplinary problems among the secondary students before participation disappeared as they found respect and self-fulfillment in helping other children.

The most unexpected payoff in utilizing differentiated staffing was from parents who participated as teaching volunteers . . . teachers attempted to meet a goal of at least one parent a day in each classroom. Either the skills needed for conducting simple and routine instructional activities (in English or Spanish) have been grossly overrated, or skills possessed by laymen have been grossly underrated, since the parents experienced success in working with the children. Their success grew as they continued to develop skills under the close supervision of the teachers. Parents who had never had much to do with the school proved that they did care for their children when the relationship with the school became positive, successful, and rewarding. (p. 22)

This same author (Cárdenas, 1975) has observed that, at base, "coping with varying types and degrees of language dominance is no different than coping with other varying characteristics of children." This is no doubt true of those classes where all students speak *some English* and where those who speak *only English* have an interest in learning the other language. The situation becomes much more complex in cases where some children speak little or no English. In these instances some grouping, according to language characteristics, appears to be necessary.

Let us examine further the case for mixed language-ability groups.

Although ability grouping is widely accepted by educators, a great number of professionals prefer heterogeneous groups because they believe that such arrangements are more conducive to interpersonal and social development of students. Complete and unstructured heterogeneity, however, often presents problems of management and organization of learning for teachers. Findly and Bryon (1971), after examining some of the issues, have made a number of recommendations regarding heterogeneous grouping. Among those which are most pertinent to the topic at hand are the following:

1. There are viable alternatives to ability grouping as a means of furthering school learning, including stratified heterogeneous grouping, tutoring, team teaching, and individually programmed instruction.
2. Planned heterogeneous grouping—notably the Baltimore plan of stratified heterogeneous grouping by tens—takes into account simultaneously the concern for curtailing extreme heterogeneity, while assuring enough diversity to give leadership opportunities in each class, providing thereby for stimulation of the less advanced by these leaders, and avoiding the concentration of defeated and stigmatized children in a bottom group almost impossible to inspire or teach. [*sic*]
3. Heterogeneous grouping, in a classroom atmosphere of cooperation and helping, should be the rule.
4. Teacher training should include an emphasis on welcoming diversity in children, and teaching children to prize it in each other. A particularly important aspect of such diversity is with regard to language and customs of minority groups. Teachers, therefore, need pre-service and/or in-service preparation in language habits and cultural heritages of minority groups to use as the basis for positive acceptance of all kinds of children into the classroom group.

These authors clearly favor a structured, well-planned system of heterogeneous grouping. Their study (cited in Johnson et al., 1976) found strong justification for this approach particularly in school settings which are mixed, racially, ethnically, and/or socioeconomically. Their suggestions for optimizing the effects of heterogeneous grouping practices appear to be well suited to bilingual education within desegregation. None of the above suggestions are burdensome to incorporate into a quality program of integrated education. Indeed, it would appear that their adoption in such a program helps to define some of the exemplary features of integration. Cárdenas (1975) has reduced to two the modifications which are necessary:

1. We must change our perceptions of the classroom teacher from an *instructor* role to that of facilitator of learning; and
2. Schools which perceive themselves to be ill-prepared for new learning arrangements must be willing to invest in the development of their technical and organizational capabilities.[6]

Attractive as it is, however, heterogeneous language grouping is not always possible in all communities or schools. In these cases bilingual education classes may be composed, as they have been

traditionally, of students who come from other-than-English-language backgrounds. The reasons for this situation may be varied and need not be discussed further here. A number of observations will be made, however, as to the control of quality of standards in such settings.

Where language-minority students are grouped for instruction according to their abilities in English or their native language, a temporary, situational effect is that some classrooms will be ethnically identifiable. At first blush this situation resembles segregation. Upon reflection, however, it seems clear that this separation need not harbor the negative educational effects of segregation as they have been known to occur historically. Linguistically differentiated grouping is an accommodation to the realities of language diversity. There is no doubt that it is to be preferred over the practice of thrusting non-English speaking students into an English-only environment wherein linguistic, cognitive, and psychological damage is likely to occur. Cárdenas's (1977) unequivocal posture in this regard reflects the firmness with which this belief is held by many educators who experienced this situation during their own schooling in English-only schools:

> The placement of a child in a strange and alien cultural, linguistic, or economic instructional setting is no less an injustice or a barrier to learning than his placement in a segregated setting. (p. 62)

It is recognized, however, that schools sometimes fall into damaging segregative patterns without malicious intent. For this reason many educators and communities may wish an extra measure of assurance before embracing a grouping plan based primarily on language ability. This assurance can be provided through a safeguard, a monitoring mechanism to ensure (1) that the grouping is not dysfunctional to learning, (2) that it is not prolonged unduly or extended to areas of the curriculum which do not require it, and (3) that an open and informed environment relative to the entire question is maintained.

Language-minority children need not be isolated from other children during those portions of the school day which do not require a command of English which is comparable to that of native speakers. Physical education, art, music, and organized sports are the most obvious examples. In order to minimize the danger of inadvertent abuse or misunderstanding, grouping should be carried out according to well-articulated procedures which are subject to periodic review, and widely known to and understood by groups and individuals in the school and community. The procedures should embody the requirement that they be:

1. Based upon clear, objective standards of measurement which are educationally relevant to the purposes of such grouping
2. Determined by the nondiscriminatory application of the above mentioned standards and maintained for only such portion of the school day or classroom period, as is indicated by these measures
3. Designed to meet special needs and to improve the academic performance and achievement of students who are placed in these groups, by means of specially trained or certified instructional personnel
4. Validated by test scores or other reliable objective evidence indicating the educational benefits of such grouping

(Adapted from Public Law 92-818, section 706 (d) (1) (c); Senate Report No. 92-61, p. 19)

In short, the separation of students according to language proficiency should be made for certain, well-defined reasons, chiefly and primordially *special instructional treatment.* Where such instruction is not provided, this type of grouping should be discouraged unless other pressing reasons exist for it in a particular school or community.

Staffing

A broadened role for bilingual education has one indisputable requirement: an increase in the number of qualified bilingual education teachers. Indeed, the cultural and linguistic "integration" of the schools' programs implies a concomitant diversification—racial, ethnic, and linguistic—of the schools' personnel *whether or not* bilingual education is also adopted. This is so because it is widely recognized that children should engage in meaningful interactions with persons who represent the diversity which exists outside the walls of the schoolhouse. Bilingual education magnifies that requirement by introducing the need to have personnel that are competent in more than one language.

How may the numbers of such personnel be estimated? We may begin with the general premise that every child who participates in bilingual education should receive instruction for some portion of the school day from teachers who can provide such instruction in the home language of that child. Additionally, in a well-integrated school program, such children should receive other school services from personnel who also speak their language. In addition to teachers, the most obvious need is for bilingual counselors, nurses, social workers, school psychologists, and home-school liaison personnel.

A reasonable staffing goal for schools might be to have a ratio of bilingual staff to bilingual students which is similar to the overall teacher-pupil ratio in the district as a whole. Thus, if the overall teacher-pupil ratio is 1 to 25, the ratio of teachers who speak language *X* to students who speak that language should also be comparable.

Ideally, such staff should be ongoing and regularly assigned. "Floating" teachers or situations relying on "pullout" arrangements should be discouraged because they may deprive the students of continuity and consistency in the instructional program. It also makes more difficult the establishment and maintenance of strong personal bonds between teachers and students. For reasons of community acceptance, it is important that staffing practices demonstrate that the program is held in high regard and that it is perceived as a definite advantage over monolingual instruction.[7]

The confluence of bilingual education and integration very often requires a greater number of bilingual education teachers than is suggested by the above formula. There are three factors which contribute to this. First, desegregation requirements may call for the dispersal of language-minority students in a given area. As a result, the number of schools attended by bilingual students may increase substantially while the number of available bilingual teachers remains constant. Second, some desegregation plans require the dispersal of bilingual teachers to reduce the concentration of "ethnically identifiable teaching staffs" in majority-minority schools. Third, the participation of non-language-minority children in bilingual education (assuming that they did not participate *before* desegregation) increases the size of the population which is to be served by bilingual teachers.

For these and other reasons, a staffing plan for bilingual education components of integrated curricula must be developed as an integral part of a desegregation plan. Such plans often call for detailed discussion of training, recruitment, and assignment of teachers. Whether or not the language-minority groups involved are legally considered to be "identifiably ethnic minorities" for purposes of a local plan, the pedagogical requirement to properly assess and prescribe instruction should not be violated.[8]

The addition of new bilingual staff members may be expected to add a multicultural vibrancy to the school environment and, more importantly, to enrich the overall educational experience of its students. Beyond this, however, the added bilingual classrooms also bring new adaptive challenges to administrators and fellow teachers. These may be summarized as:

1. the need to examine new roles and expectations,
2. the need to provide adequate information about the program

to ensure the cooperation of those staff members who may see themselves as uninvolved or tangential to the new program, and

3. the need for some retraining of some or all of the school's personnel to increase their skills.

In short, the expansion of programs and staff require retraining and joint planning related not only to bilingual instruction but also to the incorporation of an innovation. This is particularly true of innovations which may be far removed from the personal and professional experiences (and interests) of some staff members.

Over and above the need for learning new skills and procedures, school staffs also face the need to reassess themselves as sentient people who have emotional and historical "baggage" which may encumber their functioning in a newly integrated environment. A publication of the National Education Association (1974) candidly points out some of the realities which must be considered in the planning of a training program for school personnel in a recently integrated/desegregated school:

> A teacher who is a skilled and fully competent professional has a good start on being successful in a desegregated situation. But the interracial classroom also presents some different challenges to racially segregated America.
>
> 1. Since the cultural heritage of mutual ignorance, distance, antagonism, and fear between the races probably is present in the minds and views of all Americans, teachers must wrestle with their own racism.
> 2. Student peer relations are likely to be similarly constrained and affected by deeply rooted racist attitudes and behaviors.
> 3. Since few schools of education offer courses focusing on racial aspects of education, most teachers are not prepared by their preservice experiences or training for this instructional challenge. Teachers also will have few colleagues with whom they can openly share fears, hopes, tactics, successes, and failures.
> 4. Since most schools and communities that have and will have desegregated facilities are new to these patterns, they will experience the new pains without a body of tradition and experience to call upon to help handle problems.
> 5. Advocates of racially distinctive and/or separate education continually raise doubts, for students and educators, about the viability and stability of

desegregated classes and curriculums. White teachers especially will have to cope with questions about their relevance in a minority community; black and brown teachers may face demands to be loyal to new definitions of ethnic pride.

6. The structure and content of American education constitute a white-dominated institution whose racism surrounds and constrains all anti-racist acts individual teachers may try to invent. (pp. 27-28)

The case for and the factors which constrain bilingual education within integration have been reviewed. Emphasis was placed on issues and questions relating to educational and social aspects. Although the treatment given here was of necessity brief, it appears that there is good and sufficient reason to feel optimistic about the emerging confluence of the two concepts. Although the merger presents adaptive challenges which require thoughtful planning and sensitive planners, none of the problems identified constitute an insurmountable barrier. Grouping practices, staffing patterns, and the choice of program participants are some of the elements which must be considered and adapted to the new curriculum design. At base, the most urgent need is for a careful review of the goals of the particular type of bilingual education program which is adopted. All of the other factors flow from this clarification. They are defined by it and ultimately *solved* by it as well, since the nature of the goal statement will dictate most of the other features of the program.

Notes

[1]For a more in-depth treatment of the nature and consequences of this see González (1975 and 1978). Legislative reflections of the dynamics involved in attempting to change this narrow focus are described in Schneider (1976).

[2]These suggestions are derived from a recent study (González, 1978) of school personnel and parents in several midwestern cities in the United States.

[3]It should also be noted that while Title VII, ESEA—the main funding source for bilingual education—gives priority to students "whose language is other than English," it clearly allows for other students to be involved in programs which are funded by it:

> A program of bilingual education may make provision for the voluntary enrollment to a limited degree therein, on a regular basis, of children whose language is English in order that they may acquire an understanding of the cultural heritage of the children of limited English-speaking ability for whom the particular program of bilingual education is designed. (Geffert et al., p. 15)

[4]In *Mo Hock Ke Lok Po* v. *Stainback*, the District Court of Hawaii ruled that:

> (854) The parents' right to have their offspring taught a foreign language is one of the fundamental rights guaranteed by the due process clause of the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments. (856) . . . It should be noted, however, that to the fundamental parental right to secure for a child a foreign language . . . in today's world of the United Nations there has been added an equally profound international need for understanding between the peoples of a world of different tongues. (Geffert et al., p. 7)

[5]We refer here to various forms of instructional grouping commonly used *within* a classroom for instructional purposes. This is distinguished from the stricter practices (ability grouping) which are of longer duration and which are more difficult to arrange in this context. We shall address these later.

[6]Cárdenas, a former school superintendent with broad experience

in program innovation, is moved to an acerbic conclusion about school districts that bemoan the needed restructuring:

> The self-described helplessness of some school districts in coping with heterogeneous language groupings of children is more of an admission of general educational inadequacies than a problem of bilingual education, though a relationship has been observed between the conservative provincialism of racist school systems and the conservative provincialism of their instructional programs. (p. 22)

[1]Administratively, a full integration of bilingual education personnel would mean, among other things, that such personnel enjoy the same salaries, benefits, and tenure and promotion privileges, as do monolingual professionals.

[2]In *Lau* v. *Nichols* (414 U.S. 563) the U.S. Supreme Court noted that, in the case of children who have an inadequate command of English,

> . . . there is no equality of treatment merely by providing students with the same facilities, textbooks, teachers, and curriculum . . .

Through specific reference the decision included teachers as one of the factors which must be made compatible with the language characteristics of such children.

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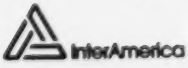
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